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ABSTRACT

Works published during 1957-72 are annotated and presented in this bibliography. Although the bibliography refers to the entire Brazilian Amazon region, most of the publications deal with the southeastern part, the Northern Mato Grosso, Goias and Southern Para. This is because the indigenous policy and its consequences are still concentrated on that more accessible area of the Brazilian interior. The 27 works cover health services, economic factors, social structures, and cultural factors. Quotations from the publications are presented in both Portuguese and English. (PS)

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René Fuerst

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

OF THE INDIGENOUS PROBLEM AND POLICY OF THE BRAZILIAN AMAZON REGION

(1957-1972)

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RC007428

Copenhagen/Geneva 1972

IWGIA - International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs - is a nonpolitical and nonreligious organization concerned with the oppression of ethnic groups in various countries.

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"Indians are probably invisible because of the tremendous amount of misinformation about them. Most books about Indians cover some abstract and esoteric topic of the last century. Contemporary books are predominantly by whites trying to solve the "Indian problem". Between the two extremes lives a dynamic people in a social structure of their own, asking only to be freed from cultural oppression. The future does not look bright for the attainment of such freedom because the white does not understand the Indian and the Indian does not wish to understand the white."

From CUSTER DIED FOR YOUR SINS (New York 1969), -
an Indian Manifesto by Vine Deloria,
a Standing Rock Sioux.

Established on the basis of the "Kritische Bibliographie zum Genozid in Brasilien" (Fuerst and Grünberg 1969) and the "Bibliografía Selecionada para o Estudo da Discriminação dos Indios no Brasil" (Agostinho, Grünberg and Santos 1972), the BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE INDIGENOUS PROBLEM AND POLICY OF THE BRAZILIAN AMAZON REGION is, however, limited to the part of the country shown in its title, and has been brought up to date by the author.

Covering the period of the last fifteen years, and in accordance with the two previous bibliographies, it begins with Darcy Ribeiro's "Culturas e Línguas Indígenas do Brasil". Published at a time of radical change in Brazilian indigenous policy, when its official body came under military direction, this fundamental essay is indeed the first serious analysis of the indigenous problem in Brazil. A few years later, in 1962, it was again the same ethnologist who wrote "A Política Indigenista Brasileira", which we would like to mention here, as it is at present the only detailed study of Brazilian indigenous policy and its complete failure. Together with much other valuable material, both articles are to be found in Ribeiro's recent "Os Indios e a Civilização", an indispensable work of reference for all those concerned with the Brazilian indigenous problem.

Although the present BIBLIOGRAPHY refers to the entire Brazilian Amazon region, most of the publications deal with its southeastern part, the Northern Mato Grosso, Goiás and Southern Pará. This is due to the fact that the indigenous policy and its consequences are still concentrated on that more accessible and therefore more affected and afflicted area of the interior of Brazil.

With regard to the small number of articles selected in this BIBLIOGRAPHY, we have merely taken into account the most representative ones, written by a few experts - ethnologists, indigenists, medical doctors, lawyers and missionaries - on the Brazilian indigenous problem and policy, but there may nevertheless be some omissions. So far as comments are concerned, we have only made them when necessary, and in such cases have reduced them to a minimum. As for the quotations, which represent the essential part of the present publication and most of which are in Portuguese since their authors are mostly Brazilians, we have brought them in the original language, with an English translation.

René Fuerst

AGOSTINHO, Pedro; GRUNBERG, Georg and SANTOS, S. Coelho dos

1972 Bibliografía Selecionada para o Estudo da Discriminação dos Indios no Brasil. "La Situación del Indígena en América del Sur: Aportes al Estudio de la Fricción Inter-Etnica en los Indios No-Andinos", Tierra Nueva, Montevideo (English version by the World Council of Churches, Geneva 1972).

AKERREN, Bo; BAKKER, Sjouke and HABERSANG, Rolf

1970 Report of the ICRC Medical Mission to the Brazilian Amazon Region. Comité International de la Croix-Rouge, Genève.

Report of the medical team of the International Red Cross on its three-month visit in 1970 to more than twenty tribes in over thirty villages, representing about one third of the total indigenous population of the Brazilian Amazon region. Contains much valuable information on the conditions of health of the Indians and, above all, shows the general lack of assistance accorded to them.

> "All sources claim, and the team has reasons to believe such statements to be true judging from its observations, that the rapid decline of Indian populations already contacted is due to disease" (p. 63); "It seems, however, that at the present time the resources of the National Indian Foundation are inadequate to cope with this vast problem of the integration of the Brazilian Indians in ways that are acceptable from the humanitarian and cultural points of view" (p. 61); "With no, insufficient or misdirected assistance, there will shortly be no Indian problem to solve" (p. 67).

BAKKER, Sjouke

1970 see AKERREN

BALDUS, Herbert (1899-1970)

1962 Was ist seit 1500 aus dem Indianer Brasiliens geworden? Akten des 34. Internationalen Amerikanistenkongresses, Wien.

"Die Einstellung der Weissen zu den Indianern Brasiliens zeigt sich seit 1500 in mannigfachen Formen. Immer wieder stehen Verherrlichung neben Verachtung, Liebe neben Hass, uneigennützige Hilfe neben brutaler Ausbeutung und Mord" (p. 190); "Viele Leute betrachten eben noch heute den Indianer nicht als menschliches Wesen" (p. 192); "Die Frage, was seit 1500 aus dem Indianer Brasiliens geworden ist, lässt sich nicht verallgemeinernd beantworten. Aber unzählige Möglichkeiten stehen offen, nach Antworten zu suchen, die zur Klärung dieser Frage beitragen können. Wir stehen erst am Anfang solcher Suche" (p. 194).

E n g l i s h t r a n s l a t i o n : "The attitude of the whites towards the Brazilian Indians has manifested itself since 1500 in many ways. Again and again we find glorification next to disdain, love next to hatred, disinterested help next to brutal exploitation and murder" (p. 190); "Even today many people still do not consider the Indian as a human being" (p. 192); "The question of what has become of the Brazilian Indian since 1500 cannot be answered with a single generalization. But there are countless possibilities of seeking for answers which can contribute to the clarification of this question. We are only at the beginning of such a seeking" (p. 194).

1962 Métodos e Resultados da Ação Indigenista no Brasil. Revista de Antropologia, vol. 10, São Paulo (Spanish version in the Actas y Memorias do 35 Congresso Internacional de Americanistas, México 1964).

Critical analysis of the methods and results of the Brazilian indigenous policy. Takes especially into consideration the former Indian Protection Service, the failure of which is shown as a consequence of prevailing political and economic conditions. The indigenous policy is analysed in three aspects: protection, pacification and controlled acculturation.

> "A despeito dos esforços do Serviço de Proteção aos Indios e das missões religiosas no sentido de proteger o índio contra os espoliadores e chacinadores, há, ainda, no Brasil, bastante tribos isoladas, indefesas e ameaçadas de extermínio. Penso, por exemplo, nos indígenas da Serra dos Dourados, cujo recente descobrimento chamou a atenção do mundo científico para o fato de haver, num Estado tão desenvolvido como o Paraná, ainda parcelas de terra incógnita. Estão êles, agora, encurralados numa selva na qual avançam, de todos os lados, os colonos, sem que o Serviço entre em ação" (p. 37).

> With respect to the employees of the former Indian Protection Service, this expert on the Brazilian indigenous problem expresses himself as follows: "Quase todos êles se parecem com cirurgiões que nunca ouviram falar em anatomia e nunca tiveram bisturi na mão. Ignoram corpo e alma de seus "protegidos" por não serem nem médicos nem etnólogos. Não tendo aprendido a vencer os próprios preconceitos etnocêntricos, fecham-se num complexo de superioridade que, no melhor dos casos, os deixa considerar os índios, ao modo dos missionários, como "crianças"" (p. 37).

English translation: "In spite of the efforts of the Indian Protection Service and the religious missions to protect the Indian from plunderers and slaughterers, there are still many tribes in Brazil which are isolated, defenceless and threatened with extermination. For example, the natives of the Serra dos Dourados, whose recent discovery aroused the attention of the scientific world by the fact that in a state as developed as Paraná, there are still unexplored areas. They are now cornered in the jungle, into which settlers are advancing from all sides, without the Service taking any action" (p. 37).

With respect to the employees of the former Indian Protection Service, this expert on the Brazilian indigenous problem expresses himself as follows: "They almost all resemble surgeons who have never heard of anatomy and who have never had a scalpel in their hands. They are ignorant of both the bodies and the souls of their "protégés" because they are neither physicians nor ethnologists. Not having learned to overcome their own ethnocentric preconceptions, they withdraw into a superiority complex which at best allows them to consider the Indians as "children", in the best missionary style" (p. 37).

BIOCCA, Ettore

1963 A Penetração Branca e a Difusão da Tuberculose entre os Indios do Rio Negro. Revista do Museu Paulista, vol. 14, São Paulo.

In the opinion of this experienced physician and biologist, the following precautions should be taken in order to prevent disease among the Indians: respect for the indigenous type of housing, a minimum of clothing, respect for the diet and the economic independence of the Indians, avoiding their fixed settlement with insufficient available resources.

CARON, Raymond

1971 Curé d'Indiens. Union Générale d'Editions, Paris.

Diary of an above-average Dominican Father who recently spent several years among the Xikrin of Southern Pará, assisting and protecting them against the local authorities. Without a doubt, one of the few missionaries who really fought for the rights of the Brazilian Indians and had the courage of his convictions in spite of the indigenous policy applied by both State and Church.

> "Mais avant toute chose, notre action doit viser à protéger les Indiens contre la civilisation et les civilisés, qui représentent pour eux un danger mortel" (p. 34); "L'acculturation dirigée par les missions religieuses et qui vise à faire de l'Indien un "caboclo", contribue à désintégrer sa société et ne parvient pas, en règle générale, à lui éviter les conséquences néfastes de la marginalité" (p. 35); "C'est cette culture originale et profondément humaine, bien que très primitive, hors de laquelle l'Indien dégénère rapidement, qu'il importe de sauver quand on parle de sauver les Indiens" (p. 35).
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> English translation: "Above all, our action must be aimed at protecting the Indians from civilization and from civilized man which represent for them a mortal danger" (p. 34); "The acculturation carried out by religious missions and which aims at transforming the Indian into a "caboclo" contributes to the disintegration of his society and generally does not manage to avoid him the baneful consequences of marginality" (p. 35); "This original and profoundly human though very primitive culture, outside which the Indian rapidly degenerates, is what must be saved if the Indians are to be saved" (p. 35).

CHIARA, Vilma

1968 Le Processus d'Extermination des Indiens du Brésil. Les Temps Modernes, no. 270, Paris.

"Si les victimes de ces guerres permanentes restent nombreuses, la survie des sociétés indigènes est tout autant menacée sur le plan économique: l'appropriation systématique de leurs terres par les propriétaires brésiliens les conduit peu à peu à la ruine. Ce processus se poursuit silencieusement, malgré les garanties données par le Service de Protection aux Indiens, puisque les délimitations que cet organisme avait fixées ne sont pas reconnues par les gouvernements des Etats où sont situées les terres en question" (p. 1073).

English translation: "Not only are the victims of these permanent wars numerous, but the economic survival of indigenous societies is also threatened. The systematic appropriation of their lands by Brazilian landowners slowly leads them to ruin. This process continues silently in spite of the guarantees given by the Indian Protection Service, since the boundaries laid down by that agency are not recognized by the governments of the states in which the Indian lands are located" (p. 1073).

DORIA, Carlos Alberto and RICARDO, Carlos Alberto

1972 Populations Indigènes du Brésil: Perspectives de Survie dans la Région dite Amazonie Légale. Bulletin de la Société Suisse des Américanistes, no. 36, Genève.

An up-to-date version of Ribeiro's "Culturas e Línguas Indígenas do Brasil", this valuable essay takes especially into consideration the "new" indigenous policy practised by the National Indian Foundation during its four years of existence and the consequences of this policy for the Indians. The alphabetical list of tribes and the map showing not only their location but also the different projects of economic expansion deserve special notice.

> "Quando se fala da "atual" política indigenista, desde o estabelecimento da Fundação Nacional do Indio, muitas vezes se supõe que ela possua elementos substancialmente novos de modo a autorizar uma distinção em relação ao período anterior, do Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. Na verdade, a política indigenista sempre apresentou "constantes históricas" que permitem concluir que a aquisição de novos territórios pelos brancos sempre se faz a custa do índio e contra êle. Se houve uma mudança, esta foi em relação à destinação que se quer para o índio no interior da sociedade nacional" (original text before its translation into French by AMAZIND).
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> "A continuarem os esforços da Fundação Nacional do Indio para se tornar um organismo auto-suficiente através da exploração do trabalho indígena, presenciaremos, no que será o mais curto espaço de tempo na história das populações indígenas, a uma das maiores reduções populacionais a se registrarem no país. Vale lembrar que o montante da população indígena a ser atingido pelos novos planos de colonização representa 50% da atual população existente no país. Os que conseguirem sobreviver, por outro lado, terão o mesmo destino que as populações indígenas que atualmente vivem na região sul e nordeste do país" (original text before its translation into French by AMAZIND).

English translation: "When the "present" natives policy is spoken of, that prevailing since the establishment of the National Indian Foundation, it is often supposed that this policy possesses substantially new elements which could justify a distinction between it and that of the previous period, the era of the Indian Protection Service. In truth, the natives policy has always presented certain "historical constants" which allow the conclusion that the acquisition of new territories by whites always takes place at the expense of the Indian and against him. If any change has occured, it is with respect to the rôle intended for the Indian within the larger society."

"If the National Indian Foundation continues to attempt to become a self-sufficient agency through the exploitation of native labour, we shall witness in the shortest space of time in the history of the native inhabitants, one of the greatest declines in population to be registered in this country. It is well to keep in mind that the amount of native population to be affected by the new settlement plans represents 50% of the present population in this country. Those who manage to survive, on the other hand, will meet the same fate as the native groups which at present live in the south and north-east of the country."

FRIKEL, Protásio

1963 Notas sôbre a Situação Atual dos Indios Xikrin do Rio Caeteté. Revista do Museu Paulista, vol. 14, São Paulo.

This experienced ethnologist comes to the conclusion that the problems of conflict and tension existing between Indians and Neo-Brazilians can only be solved through immediate and permanent medical assistance, rigorous control of individual and commercial relations and, above all, a guarantee given to the Indians of the possession of the land they are living on and which sustains them.

FUERST, René

1969 Gegenwärtige Lage und Dringende Völkerkundliche Forschungsaufgaben bei Brasilianischen Wildbeutern. Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research, no. 11, Vienna.

"Eine absichtliche, dementsprechend grossangelegte Ausrottung der brasilianischen Ureinwohner ist in Anbetracht der geo- und demographischen Gegebenheiten gar nicht möglich. Wir haben es angesichts der etwa 50.000, in mehrere hundert Dorfgemeinschaften zerfallenden und auf ein fast ausschliesslich mit Urwald bedecktes Gebiet von 5.000.000 km2 verteilten Indianer in Wirklichkeit um einzelne, wirtschaftlich bedingte Gewalttätigkeiten seitens der Kontaktbevölkerung zu tun. Das Andauern mehr als die Zunahme solcher Ubergriffe hängt meines Erachtens vor allem mit dem gänzlichen Versagen der Eingeborenenpolitik in Brasilien zusammen. In der Tat sind weder der nationale Schutzdienst noch die zahlreichen, grösstenteils ausländischen Missionen fähig, das Problem der letzten Ureinwohner, d.h. etwa 5% der Bevölkerung zur Zeit der Entdeckung vor fünfhundert Jahren oder 0,05% der heutigen Gesamtbevölkerung, richtig zu lösen" (p. 121).

English translation: "An intentional and therefore large-scale extermination of the Brazilian aborigines is impossible in view of the geographical and demographical realities. It is actually a matter of isolated violent acts perpetrated for economic reasons by the pioneer population, since there are some 50.000 Indians living in several hundreds of small villages spread over an area of 5 million square kilometres, practically all of which is covered by forests. The persistance rather than the increase of such violence, in my opinion, is the result of the complete failure of the indigenous policy followed in Brazil. In actual fact neither the national protection service nor the numerous mostly foreign missions are able to properly solve the problem of the last remaining aborigines, who made up about 5% of the population at the time of the discovery fivehundred years ago and today comprise about 0,05% of the total population" (p. 121).

1971 Provisional Report on the Present Situation of the Indians of the Brazilian Amazon Region. Geneva (manuscript in possession of AMAZIND).

Alphabetical list of tribes, their present geographic location and demographic condition, drawn up by the author on the basis of his field research (1961-69) and his mission as a technical advisor to the International Red Cross (1970). The list includes about 20.000 Indians, or one third of the total indigenous population of the Brazilian Amazon region.

FUERST, René and GRUNBERG, Georg

1969 Kritische Bibliographie zum Genozid in Brasilien. Seminar für Ethnologie, Bern.

GRUNBERG, Georg

1969 see FUERST

1972 see AGOSTINHO

HABERSANG, Rolf

1970 see AKERREN

HANBURY-TENISON, Robin

1971 Report of a Visit to the Indians of Brazil. Primitive Peoples Fund, London.

The mission of the Primitive Peoples Fund covered, about six months later, much of the same ground as that covered by the International Red Cross. Contrary to the declarations of the Brazilian Government early in 1971, the members saw no evidence that any of its recommendations had been carried out and their findings tally closely with those of the Red Cross.

> "There is no doubt at all that unless greatly increased aid, including international financial and technical assistance and advice, is brought to bear on the problem, few if any of the still uncontacted and recently contacted Indians of Brazil will survive the next ten years" (p. 29); "Assuming that the intention is not to eliminate the Indian population of Brazil, then urgent action must be taken now" (p. 30); "There should be no attempts at instant integration. All previous experiments along these lines in Brazil have failed and there is no reason to believe that they stand any better chance of success today. Moreover, due to their greatly reduced numbers, failure now means the virtual extermination of the Indians" (p. 30).

JOBIM, Danton

1970 O Problema do Indio e a Acusação de Genocídio. Ministério da Justiça, Conselho de Defesa dos Direitos da Pessoa Humana, Brasília.

Report written by the president of the Brazilian Press Association, member of the Council for the Defence of Human Rights, at the request of the National Indian Foundation in order to establish whether or not a policy of "genocide" is supported or approved by the government. Though he agrees that there is a certain degree of inefficiency in the official body, the author rejects the accusation apparently put forward by some European countries.

> "No caso do Brasil, mesmo que se qualifique de genocídio certas ações levadas a efeito por particulares ao longo da faixa pioneira, onde o civilizado se encontra com tribos indígenas, a política do Govêrno Federal sempre foi a de proteger o índio ameaçado de perseguições e de extermínio" (p. 6).

> "Mesmo considerando a falsidade ou o exagêro, devemos reconhecer honestamente que nossos governos, se têm mantido uma política indígena que serviu de modêlo às normas baixadas em Recomendação da 39. Conferência Internacional do Trabalho para o tratamento dos índios, não fizeram tudo o que deveriam fazer para assegurar o respeito aos seus direitos. Abusos têm sido tolerados, quase sempre pela impotência das autoridades incumbidas de zelar pela sorte do índio, mas não se pode afirmar, em sã consciência, que o Govêrno brasileiro "patrocine" a liquidação dos remanescentes dos grupos indígenas" (p. 12).

"Há casos em que pessoas a serviço do Govêrno são cúmplices ou autores dêsses crimes ou dêles se locupletam. Em conseqüência de inquérito já citado, no antigo Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, apuraram-se revoltantes casos dessa espécie e numerosos servidores foram punidos na esfera administrativa" (p. 9).

English translation: "In the case of Brazil, even if certain actions perpetrated by individuals along the pioneer strip, where civilized man meets the native tribes, can be considered as genocide, the policy of the Federal Government has always been to protect the Indian threatened by persecution and annihilation" (p. 6).

"Even considering this falsity or exaggeration, we must recognize in all honesty that our governments, if they have maintained a natives policy which has served as a model for the rules laid down in the Recommendation of the 39th International Labour Conference on the treatment of Indians, did not do all they ought to have done to assure respect for their rights. Abuses have been tolerated, almost always through the impotence of the authorities charged with taking care of the Indian, but it cannot be stated in good conscience that the Brazilian government "sponsors" the liquidation of the remnants of the native groups" (p. 12).

"There are cases in which persons in the service of the government are the authors of these crimes or accomplices to them, or have enriched themselves from them. As a result of the previously mentioned inquiry, revolting cases of this type were revealed in the former Indian Protection Service, and many civil servants were punished in the administrative sphere" (p. 9).

LARAIA, Roque de Barros and MATTA, Roberto da

1967 Indios e Castanheiros: A Emprêsa Extrativa e os Indios no Médio Tocantins. Difusão Européia do Livro, São Paulo.

While one of the authors analyses the contact between two Tupí tribes and the Brazil-nut gatherers of the Central Tocantins, the other studies the contact between the latter and a Jê tribe of that region of Southern Pará. Both field researches are part of Cardoso de Oliveira's project "Study of Areas of Inter-Ethnic Friction in Brazil".

> "Este fato parece demonstrar que, qualquer que seja a reação da sociedade indígena frente ao contato, como êle é praticado, não impede que os resultados sejam negativos para os grupos indígenas.
>
> Para os membros da sociedade maior os índios devem ser "exterminados porque são selvagens". Freqüentemente êstes são dissimulados sob uma outra forma: "os índios devem ser civilizados"; isto é, perderem o contrôle de suas terras, serem reunidos numa gleba, onde se torne impossível a continuação de sua existência como povo. Para os regionais, a pacificação deve ser feita de tal forma que transforme os indígenas em marginais, pois já pressupõem ser impossível a sua transformação em mão-de-obra barata.
>
> Estes desejos de extinguir os silvícolas, quer biològicamente pelas chamadas expedições punitivas, quer socialmente por um tipo precário de proteção, são determinados por um mesmo objetivo: a posse da terra ocupada pelos grupos tribais.

E quando isto torna-se realidade, quando a frente de expansão apodera-se das terras tribais, a extinção dos índios está consumada. A vasta floresta é o seu meio tradicional de produção. Separados dela e incapazes, pelas razões expostas, de se integrarem no sistema econômico dominante, os índios não têm outro recurso senão o de tornarem-se dependentes de um orgão protecionista ou de se reduzirem a uma população miserável e apática. Freqüentemente, o que é mais grave, estas duas coisas acontecem juntas" (p. 68).

English translation: "This fact seems to demonstrate that whatever the reaction of the native society is to the contact, as this contact is practiced, it does not prevent the results from being negative for the native groups.

To the members of the larger society, the Indians should be "exterminated because they are savages". Frequently this is concealed in a different formula: "The Indians should be civilized"; that is, lose the control of their lands and be concentrated on cultivated lands where their continued existence as a people is rendered impossible. For the local whites, pacification should be carried out in such a manner that it transforms the natives into marginals, since they take it for granted that it is impossible to transform them into a cheap source of labour.

This desire to exterminate the Indians, whether biologically by so-called punitive expeditions or socially through a dangerous type of protection, is determined by one and the same objective: the appropriation of the land occupied by these tribal groups.

And when this desire becomes reality, when the front of expansion occupies the tribal lands, the extinction of the Indians is completed. The vast jungle is their traditional means of production. Separated from it and incapable, for the reasons which we have mentioned, of integrating themselves into the dominant economic system, the Indians have no recourse save to become dependent on a protectionist agency or to be reduced to a miserable and apathetic group of people. What is most serious is that frequently, both of these things occur simultaneously" (p. 68).

MATTA, Roberto da

1963 Notas sôbre o Contato e a Extinção dos Indios Gaviões do Médio Rio Tocantins. Revista do Museu Paulista, vol. 14, São Paulo.

"Vemos assim, que o índio Gavião recebeu os atributos de selvagem, cruel e assassino, na medida em que a sua presença na área era marcada por atos puramente defensivos de seus territórios e também que a transformação do papel de guerreiro por êle desempenhado, corresponde a duas fases da ocupação da área do médio Tocantins: a primeira quando as populações regionais evitavam os índios sabedoras que eram de sua capacidade de reação violenta. A segunda destas fases marca o momento em que a extração dos produtos vegetais provoca o surgimento de um outro sistema econômico. Esse sistema resultou numa altissima integração dos núcleos regionais, e também em agências de financiamento de exploração das matas, e uma classe de proprietários de terras e capitais. O mêdo ao índio passou a não ser mais suficiente para manter afastados os regionais. Fortaleceu-se, em conseqüência, a visão do índio Gavião como um obstáculo a ser eliminado a todo o custo" (p. 187).

English translation: "Thus we see that the Gavião Indian was considered to be savage, cruel and murderous to the extent to which his presence in the area was characterized by acts of pure defence of his territories and also that the transformation of the role of warrior played by him corresponds to two phases in the occupation of the area of the Central Tocantins. The first phase was when the local whites avoided the Indians, realizing their capacity for violent reaction; the second began at the moment at which the extraction of vegetable products stimulated the rise of a different economic system. This system resulted in a high degree of integration of regional centres, and likewise in the financing of the exploitation of the jungles and in a class of owners of land and capital. The fear of the Indian was no longer sufficient to keep the local whites away. Consequently, the view of the Gavião Indian as an obstacle to be eliminated at any cost was strengthened" (p. 187).

1967 see LARAIA

MELATTI, Júlio Cezar

1967 Indios e Criadores: A Situação dos Krahó na Area Pastoril do Tocantins. Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Rio de Janeiro.

Further field research carried out on Cardoso de Oliveira's project "Study of Areas of Inter-Ethnic Friction in Brazil". In accordance with his colleagues of the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, the author analyses the contact between this Jê tribe and the cattle-breeders of the Upper Tocantins.

"A violência não caracteriza atualmente as relações entre os Krahó e os sertanejos. Mas talvez ela apareça dentro em breve devido à necessidade de novas terras por parte dos sertanejos. E de se supor que, se tal coisa vier a acontecer, o Serviço de Proteção aos Indios não oporá grande resistência, já que seu poder é mais fictício do que real, pois, como acontece freqüentemente, todo pedido de providência de iniciativa do encarregado do Pôsto se perde pelos intrincados canais burocráticos" (p. 155).

English translation: "Violence does not at present characterize relations between the Krahó and the backwoodsmen. But it could possibly crop up again shortly, due to the latter's need for new land. It is to be presumed that if this takes place, the Indian Protection Service will not offer much resistance, seeing that its power is more fictitious than real, since, as frequently happens, every request for action on the part of the Post Commissioner is lost in the intricate channels of bureaucracy" (p. 155).

METRAUX, Alfred (1902-1963)

1962 Disparition des Indiens dans le Brésil Central. Akten des 34. Internationalen Amerikanistenkongresses, Wien.

"La situation que je vous ai présentée sur la base des informations précises contenues dans le rapport de Moreira Neto en dit long sur le sort qui attend les Indiens occupant la dernière grande réserve naturelle du Brésil. L'organisme qui a été créé justement pour les protéger et pour empêcher leur disparition est devenu, par suite d'une politique de pacification aveugle, l'instrument de leur perte. En principe, le Service de Protection aux Indiens

doit pourvoir à leur sécurité et faciliter leur intégration dans le Brésil moderne; en fait les "postos" sont non seulement des centres de démoralisation, et d'exploitation, mais de véritables pièges dans lesquels une fois pris, les Indiens sont condamnés à une prompte disparition. Certes, je ne veux pas accuser le Service dont j'ai été l'hôte et qui possède des fonctionnaires admirables de courage et de dévouement, mais je ne puis que constater la décadence, dans l'Etat de Pará, d'une institution qui s'inspire des plus nobles idéaux mais qui, dans les faits, est devenue néfaste. Les responsables sont les compagnies d'exploitation caoutchoutière et celles qui font la cueillette des noix du Brésil, les commerçants qui vivent au détriment des coureurs de bois, "seringueiros" et collecteurs de noix, et, enfin, les autorités de l'Etat de Pará qui ouvertement souhaitent la disparition des Indiens. Le Service de Protection aux Indiens a été obligé de procéder uniquement à la pacification sans se soucier de ce qu'il adviendrait des Indiens qui se sont confiés à lui" (p. 109).

With regard to the possibility of putting an end to the extermination of the remaining Indians of Central Brazil, this distinguished Americanist makes the following observation: "La chose me semble aussi difficile à tenter que le sont les efforts de ceux qui essayent d'empêcher l'exploitation meurtrière des Indiens de l'Amazonie péruvienne. Il y a quelques mois, les grands journaux gouvernementaux et catholiques de Lima préconisaient le "nettoyage de la forêt". Il faudrait un autre Maréchal Rondon. Lui mort, qui a assez d'autorité et de prestige pour parler au nom des Indiens" (p. 109)?

English translation: "The situation which I have presented here on the basis of the precise information contained in the Moreira Neto report speaks volumes for the fate which awaits the Indians living on the last great natural

reservation in Brazil. The agency that was set up precisely to protect them and to prevent their disappearing has become the instrument of their ruin as a consequence of its blind pacification policy. In principle the Indian Protection Service is supposed to provide for their safety and to facilitate their integration into modern Brazil; in fact, the "postos" are not only centers of demoralization, and exploitation, but real traps in which, once caught, the Indians are condemned to disappear rapidly. Of course I do not wish to accuse the Service whose guest I was and which does have some courageous and devoted workers in its ranks, but I cannot help noting the decadence, in the State of Pará, of an institution which inspirés itself in the most noble ideals but, which in reality, has become baneful. The blame goes to the rubber companies and to those that gather Brazil nuts, to the merchants who live off the trappers, "seringueiros" and nut gatherers, and finally to the authorities of the State of Pará who openly wish the disappearance of the Indians. The Indian Protection Service has been forced to proceed to pacification only without bothering about what would happen to the Indians who have put themselves into its hands" (p. 109).

With regard to the possibility of putting an end to the extermination of the remaining Indians of Central Brazil, this distinguished Americanist makes the following observation: "This seems to me as difficult a task as are the efforts of those who try to prevent the murderous exploitation of the Indians of the Peruvian Amazon region. Some months ago the big government and Catholic newspapers of Lima were advocating the "cleaning of the forest". We would need another Marshal Rondon. Now that he is dead, who has enough authority and prestige to speak on behalf of the Indians" (p. 109)?

MOREIRA NETO, Carlos de Araújo

1959 Relatório sôbre a Situação Atual dos Indios Kayapó. Revista de Antropologia, vol. 7, São Paulo.

"O testemunho histórico indica que, dos primeiros tempos coloniais aos dias de hoje, diferenças de grau e não de qualidade marcam, no país, as técnicas usuais de expoliação, de opressão e de extermínio adotadas no tratamento aos grupos indígenas pelas frentes de expansão da sociedade nacional. Nimuendajú revela em um de seus relatórios ao Serviço de Proteção aos Indios os processos habituais seguidos por seringalistas e exploradores de castanhais do Xingu em suas relações com os índios da região. Tais atitudes com respeito aos grupos tribais podem ser classificadas em duas únicas categorias. Na primeira modalidade, a nota dominante é o extermínio puro e simples dos indígenas hostis ou simplesmente arredios. A alternativa é a exploração brutal do trabalho indígena e sua liqüidação lenta pela miséria, os maus tratos, a contaminação" (p. 54).

"As pacificações ora em curso na bacia do Xingu ignoram quaisquer pressupostos básicos, apoiados nos dados da experiência, que protejam os grupos tribais dos perigos da desintegração socio-cultural e dos processos depopulativos por epidemia a que se encontram expostos. Nenhuma dessas atividades prevê, como medida necessária, a garantia às comunidades indígenas da posse dos territórios que ocupam. O que se verifica então é que às próprias equipes da pacificação se associam seringalistas e exploradores de castanhais que vão imediatamente ocupando as áreas tornadas acessíveis pela atração de grupos hostis. Dessa forma, as atuais medidas pacificadoras serão não só desaconselháveis como de todo inconvenientes se se têm em conta os mais elementares interêsses e direitos dos grupos indígenas por elas atingidos" (p. 61).

English translation: "Historical testimony indicates that from the first colonial period up to the present day, the customary techniques of plunder, oppression and extermination adopted by the fronts of expansion of white society in this country in their treatment of native groups are characterized by differences of degree and not of quality. Nimuendajú, in one of his reports to the Indian Protection Service, reveals the customary practices followed by the exploiters of the rubber plantations and Brazil nut groves of the Xingu in their relations with the Indians of this region. Such attitudes towards the tribal groups can be classified into two categories. In the first class, the dominant note is the extermination pure and simple of the natives who are hostile or who are merely avoiding the whites. The alternative to this is the brutal exploitation of native labour and the slow liquidation of the Indians through poverty, maltreatment and contagious diseases" (p. 54).

The pacification programmes presently being carried out in the Xingu basin are based on a total ignorance of principles, supported by experience, which could protect the tribal groups from the dangers of socio-cultural disintegration and from the process of depopulation by the epidemics to which they are exposed. None of these activities considers a guarantee to the native communities of the possession of the territories which they occupy to be a necessary measure. What is taking place, then, is that the pacification teams are joined by exploiters of rubber plantations and Brazil nut groves, who immediately occupy the areas made accessible by the appeasement of hostile groups. Thus the present pacification measures are not only inadvisable but also wholly improper, taking into account the fundamental interests and rights of the native groups affected by them" (p. 61).

1967 Constante Histórica do "Indigenato" no Brasil. Atas do Simpósio sôbre a Biota Amazônica, Conselho Nacional de Pesquisas, Rio de Janeiro.

Analysing historically the Brazilian indigenous problem, the author demonstrates that in fact the relations between "civilized" people and Indians continue along the same patterns of colonial spoliation and domination which have characterized almost the last five centuries. As an exception and an example of a possible solution to the problem, this expert mentions the National Xingu Park, up to then not under the control of the official body, but subjected to a special administration.

> "A questão da posse da terra constitui a base da problemática indígena. E é precisamente em tôrno dêste problema fundamental que surgiram històricamente os conflitos com os grupos indígenas. Os governos que se sucederam da colônia aos dias atuais têm invariàvelmente falhado na realização de uma política adequada aos interêsses e direitos dos grupos tribais, porque a solução dêste e de outros problemas fundamentais, que poderia alterar de modo irreversível o caráter da dominação tradicional, jamais foi sériamente considerada" (p. 180).
>
> "O índio continua a ser definido pela opinião dominante das regiões onde sobrevive como um óbice ao progresso e à civilização, que deve ser afastado, neutralizado ou suprimido. Sòmente em 1963 ocorreram, pelo menos, três incidentes graves que servirão como exemplos da permanência de tais processos de solução do problema indígena" (p. 182).

"Fatos como êstes demonstram que o massacre continua a ser institucionalizado como padrão habitual de conduta nas relações entre brancos e índios no Brasil atual e é sempre utilizado, com tranqüila certeza de impunidade, tôdas as vêzes que grupos indígenas constituam um entrave à expansão ou a quaisquer outros interêsses dos proprietários rurais" (p. 183).

"Dados objetivos como êstes, que revelam a especificidade do problema indígena, são freqüentemente utilizados e deformados por proprietários rurais, políticos, funcionários públicos e mesmo por agentes "protecionistas" com a utilização de estereotipos e preconceitos de uso corrente contra os índios, com o sentido de justificar as ocupações ou a exploração das áreas indígenas e a divisão de seus territórios, descritos habitualmente como "enormes extensões de terras férteis", roubadas aos interêsses do progresso nacional por um pequeno número de índios "ignorantes, viciados e indolentes" (p. 185).

English translation: "The question of the possession of the land is at the heart of the native problem. And it is precisely around this fundamental question that conflicts with native groups arise. The governments which have succeeded each other from the colonial period to the present time have invariably failed to realize a policy adequate to the interests and rights of the tribal groups, because a solution to this and other fundamental problems, which could irrevocably alter the character of the traditional domination, has never been seriously considered" (p. 180).

"The Indian continues to be defined by prevailing public opinion in the areas where he has survived as an obstacle to progress and civilization who should be isolated, neutralized or suppressed. In 1963 alone there occurred at least three serious incidents which exemplify the permanency of such solutions of the native problem" (p. 182).

"Facts such as these demonstrate that slaughter continues to be institutionalized as the habitual pattern of conduct in relations between whites and Indians in Brazil today, and is always made use of, with the secure certainty of impunity, whenever native groups constitute an obstacle to the expansion, or any other interests, of the rural landowners" (p. 183).

"Objective data such as this, which reveals the specific character of the native problem, is frequently used and deformed by rural landowners, politicians, public officials and even by "protectionist" agents, along with stereotypes and current prejudices against the Indians, in order to justify the occupation or the exploitation of native areas and the partition of their territories, habitually described as "enormous expanses of fertile land" withheld from the interests of national progress by a small number of "ignorant, corrupt and lazy Indians" (p. 185).

OLIVEIRA, Roberto Cardoso de

1964 O Indio e o Mundo dos Brancos: A Situação dos Tukúna do Alto Solimões. Difusão Européia do Livro, São Paulo.

First piece of field research carried out by the author on his own project "Study of Areas of Inter-Ethnic Friction in Brazil". Studying the relations of this still important tribe of the Upper Solimões with the local national society, he shows its transformation into an extremely dependent social category: the "caboclo".

> "Em suma, é o índio integrado na periferia da sociedade nacional, oposto ao "índio selvagem", nu ou semi-vestido, hostil ou arredio, exemplificado na paisagem do alto Solimões pelas tribos do Quixito e do Curuçá. Em certo sentido, o caboclo pode ser visto ainda como o resultado da interiorização do mundo do branco pelo Tukúna, dividida que está sua consciência em duas: uma, voltada para os seus ancestrais, outra, para os poderosos homens que o circundam. O caboclo é, assim, o Tukúna vendo-se a si mesmo com os olhos do branco; isto é, como intruso, indolente, traiçoeiro, enfim como alguém cujo único destino é trabalhar para o branco" (p. 80).

> English translation: "In short, he is the Indian who is integrated on the periphery of the larger society, as opposed to the "savage Indian", nude or half-clothed, hostile or aloof, who is exemplified in the region of the Upper Solimões by the Quixito and the Curuçá tribes. In a certain sense, the caboclo can be considered as the result of the internalization of the white world by the Tukúna, divided as his consciousness is into two: one influenced by his ancestors, the other by the powerful men who surround him. The caboclo thus the Tukúna seeing himself with the eyes of the white; that is, as intrusive, lazy and treacherous - in short, as one whose sole fate is to work for the white man" (p. 80).

1972 A Sociologia do Brasil Indígena. Tempo Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro.

Collection of nine brilliant essays on the indigenous problem already published in different scientific journals between 1960-69 by one of Brazil's leading sociologists. Among the self-explanatory titles, we would like to mention the following ones because of their particular interest for the present Bibliography: "Bases para uma Política Indigenista" (1961), "O Indio na Consciência Nacional" (1965) and "Indigenismo ou Colonialismo" (1969).

> "A longa história das relações entre índios e brancos no Brasil culminaria recentemente com um acontecimento de impacto: a denúncia de genocídio, seguida da extinção do Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, acusado de conivência ou omissão na apuração dos crimes que contra o índio se teriam perpetrado. Independentemente da veracidade do teor da denúncia, ela traria o índio a uma triste evidência. Porém, ou por isso mesmo, suficientemente eloquente para dar ao aborígene - após tanto tempo de esquecimento pela opinião pública - status de "problema nacional". As controversias, surgidas quanto à solução a ser encontrada relativamente à sua proteção e assistência, foram de tal modo debatidas na imprensa, durante aquêle período de crise da instituição oficial, ocorrida em 1968, que por si só comprovariam a existência do que se poderia chamar de questão indígena, reconhecida até então apenas por antropólogos e indigenistas" (p. 9).
>
> After the pertinent first paragraph of the author's "Introduction", here is the equally relevant conclusion of his article "O Indio na Consciência Nacional": "Ao fim dessas considerações, chega-se à conclusão de que a posição do índio na sociedade inclusiva, mesmo nos seus setores mais responsáveis administrativamente falando, em nada lhe é favorável. A sua "representação étnica" na consciência nacional continuará a ser estereotipada, pelo menos

enquanto a sua figura real não penetrar nas escolas e na imprensa, saindo dos limites dos museus e dos cursos especializados. As campanhas de esclarecimento popular, a que nos referimos, por importantes que sejam, apresentam resultados fugazes, se não desencadearem formas de ensino e de informação mais consistentes e permanentes. Além do mais, à deformação da figura do índio, acrescenta-se a deformação da própria política indigenista. Pois se a imagem unívoca e abstracta de um índio genérico já é em si mesma inverossímil - porquanto deixa de considerar a variedade cultural inerente à paisagem indígena brasileira - a incorporação à consciência nacional das "ideologias" ou mentalidades examinadas torna pouco provável o estabelecimento de uma diretriz indigenista racional. E, infelizmente, parece não haver dúvida de que é nessas mentalidades que o indigenismo oficial está buscando inspiração para o equacionamento da questão indígena" (pp. 75-76).

English translation: "The long history of relations between Indian and whites in Brazil recently culminated in an incident of great impact: the denunciation of genocide, followed by the extinction of the Indian Protection Service accused of collusion or of ommission in the investigation of crimes perpetrated against the Indians. Regardless of the truth of the denunciation, it has put the Indian in a sorrowful evidence. However, or rather because of it, this evidence has been sufficiently eloquent to give the Indian a status of "national problem", after so many years of public neglect. The controversies regarding the solution to be found for the Indians' protection and assistance were so much debated by the press during the period of crisis of the governmental institution, in 1968, that they would be enough to establish the existence of what could be called the indigenous issue, which until then had been recognized only by

anthropologists and indigenists" (p. 9).

After the pertinent first paragraph of the author's "Introduction", here is the equally relevant conclusion of his article "O Indio na Consciência Nacional": "As a result of these considerations, one reaches the conclusion that the position of the Indian in the comprehensive society, even in its most responsible sectors, administratively speaking, is in no wise favourable. His "ethnic image" in the national consciousness will continue to be stereotyped, at least as long as his real image does not abandon the limits of museums and specialized courses to penetrate into the schools and the press. Campaigns of popular information, important as they may be, will present transitory results if they do not give rise to more consistent and permanent forms of education and information. Furthermore, to the deformation of the image of the Indian is added the deformation of the natives policy itself. For if the one-sided and abstract image of a generalized Indian is in itself false inasmuch as it does not take into consideration the cultural variation inherent in the Brazilian native scene, the incorporation into the national consciousness of the "ideologies" or mentalities examined above makes the establishment of a rational course of action on the native question improbable. And unfortunately it seems to be beyond a doubt that the official natives agencies are seeking in these ideologies inspiration for a formulation of the native question" (pp. 75-76).

QUEIROZ CAMPOS, José de

1970 Nem Genocídio nem "Etnocídio". Deutsch-Brasilianische Hefte, no. 3, Nürnberg (German version in the same issue).

Written by the ex-president of the National Indian Foundation, an official body which took the place of the Indian Protection Service in 1968, this "answer of the Brazilian Government to the degrading campaign started by some enemies of the régime who had misinformed the world press" is all but persuading to those who are aware of both the indigenous problem and policy of this country.

> "A Fundação Nacional do Indio restabeleceu o ideal de Rondon e tem procurado motivar o índio para o trabalho" (p. 155); "A política da Fundação Nacional do Indio, definitivamente implantada em julho de 1968, visa aos seguintes objetivos: promover o desenvolvimento econômico das tribos integradas; intensificar a aculturação das semi-aculturadas; policiar a catequese assimilacionista dos índios arredios; garantir a lenta aculturação dos índios isolados em reservas, em contactos esporádicos com os civilizados, orientados pelos funcionários dos parques indígenas; promover missões de aproximação, no caso de contactos violentos com os civilizados, e tentar a pacificação de tribos em conflito; preservar a higidez dos índios, qualquer que seja o seu grau de aculturação, e organizar o policiamento dos territórios indígenas, utilizando nessas missões os próprios índios aculturados" (pp. 151-153); "Os índios do Brasil têm hoje aquela proteção e segurança que lhes faltava" (p. 159).
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> English translation: "The National Indian Foundation re-established the ideal of Rondon and has attempted to motivate the Indian to work" (p. 155); "The policy of the National Indian Foundation, definitively installed in July 1968, aims at the following objectives: to promote the economic development of the integrated tribes; to intensify the acculturation of the semi-acculturated tribes; to regulate the assimilationist indoctrination of secluded Indians; to guarantee the slow acculturation of Indians isolated on reserva-

tions by sporadic contacts with civilized people, guided by officials of the natives parks; to promote missions of approach in the case of violent contacts with civilized people, and to attempt to pacify tribes in conflict; to preserve the health of the Indians whatever their degree of acculturation; to organize the patrolling of native territories, using acculturated Indians for these tasks" (pp. 151-153); "The Indians of Brazil today have the protection and security which they were lacking" (p. 159).

RIBEIRO, Darcy

1957 Culturas e Línguas Indígenas do Brasil. Educação e Ciências Sociais, vol. 2, no. 6, Rio de Janeiro (English version in "Indians of Brazil in the Twentieth Century", Institute for Cross-Cultural Research, Washington 1967).

Fundamental essay on the Brazilian indigenous problem drawn up by one of its most experienced spokesmen on the basis of the archives of the former Indian Protection Service. For the first time, the author demonstrates that the problem is in fact not culturally but economically determined. The comparative tables showing the degree of integration of the indigenous groups into the national society deserve special notice.

"A proporção de grupos indígenas nas áreas de economia extrativa, pastoril e agricola exprime, essencialmente, o grau de penetração e domínio da sociedade nacional em cada uma delas, demonstrando que o determinante fundamental do destino dos grupos indígenas é a dinâmica da sociedade nacional que avança inexoràvelmente sôbre as poucas faixas inexploradas do território brasileiro onde ainda sobrevivem grupos isolados e, à medida que ascende a maiores concentrações demográficas, faz baixar o número de grupos indígenas e seu montante populacional" (p. 46).

"E, ainda, que o determinante fundamental no destino das tribos indígenas, da conservação ou perda de suas línguas e culturas é a sociedade nacional e até mesmo a economia internacional. A cotação da borracha e da castanha e de outros produtos no mercado de Nova York, ou as perspectivas de paz ou de guerra, entre as grandes potências, é que faz avançar ou refluir as ondas de extratores de produtos florestais, permitindo sobreviver ou condenando ao extermínio as últimas tribos autônomas" (p. 28).

E n g l i s h t r a n s l a t i o n : "The proportion of native groups in the areas of extractive, pastoral and agricultural economy expresses essentially the degree of penetration and domination of the larger society in them, demonstrating that the fundamental determinant of the fate of native groups is the dynamics of the larger society, which is inexorably advancing upon the few unexplored belts of Brazilian territory where isolated groups still survive, and, to the extent to which it rises to greater demographic concentrations, causes the number of native groups and their population to decline" (p. 46).

"Furthermore, that the fundamental determinant of the fate of native tribes, of the conservation or loss of their languages and cultures, is the larger society and even the international economy. The current price of rubber, Brazil nuts and other products on the New York market or the prospects of peace or war between the great powers is what causes the waves of extractors of jungle products to advance or recede, permitting the remaining autonomous tribes to survive or condemning them to extermination" (p. 28).

1962 A Política Indigenista Brasileira. Ministério da Agricultura, Rio de Janeiro.

Up to now the only detailed study of Brazilian indigenous policy, reporting the positive as well as the negative performances of the former Indian Protection Service during its more than fifty years of existence. Among the author's "recommendations for protectionist action", a guarantee of the possession of indigenous land is put forward as the essential condition for the survival of the Indians.

> "Os últimos quatro anos, de administrações militares já não inspiradas nos princípios filosóficos positivistas, como ao tempo de Rondon, ou em quaisquer outros, conduziram o Serviço de Proteção aos Indios ao ponto mais baixo de sua história, fazendo-o descer em certas regiões, à condição degradante de agente de sustentação dos espoliadores e assassinos de índios" (pp. 38-39).
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> "Na verdade, a obra de pacificação atende mais às necessidades de expansão da sociedade nacional que aos índios. A obra de assistência, esta sim, é que atenderá às necessidades pròpriamente indígenas. Todavia, no campo da assistência e da proteção, o Serviço de Proteção aos Indios falhou freqüentemente" (p. 99).
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> "Pacificações realizadas à custa de muitas vidas, de esfôrço heróico para chamar novas tribos à paz conduziram seus executores à frustração, ao verificarem que a sua vitória era, afinal, a derrota dos seus ideais, que nem mesmo a posse da terra era assegurada aos índios e que o convívio pacífico significava para êles a fome, a doença e o desengano" (p. 99).
>
> "Muito mais do que as garantias da lei, é o desinterêsse econômico que assegura ao índio a posse do nicho em que vive. A descoberta de qualquer elemento suscetível de exploração equivale à condenação dos índios, que são pressionados a desocupar as suas terras ou nelas morrem chacinados. E não são necessárias descobertas econômicas excepcionais para que os índios sejam espoliados" (pp. 101-102).

"A triste realidade é que nenhuma missão religiosa, até nossos dias, fêz qualquer esfôrço para submeter-se ao texto constitucional que assegura aos índios a posse das terras que ocupam, ao contrário, trataram de registrar em seu próprio nome não só as terras onde foram instalar-se, embora as soubessem ocupadas imemorialmente pelos índios, como aquelas para as quais transladaram grupos indígenas" (pp. 103-104).

"Depois de cinqüenta anos de esforços para garantir a cada tribo uma nesga de terra, ainda são poucos os Estados que deram aos índios títulos de posse das terras em que vivem. E a grande maioria dêles vazou o texto legal em linguagem tão imprecisa que dá margem a discussões, cada vez que um fazendeiro ou político local se decida a lançar mão de suas relações políticas para apossar-se de terras dos índios" (p. 106).

E n g l i s h t r a n s l a t i o n : "The last four years, characterized by military administrations no longer inspired by positivist philosophical principles as in the time of Rondon, or by any others, led the Indian Protection Service to the lowest point of its history, causing it to descend in certain areas to the degrading condition of an instrument of support for the plunderers and murderers of Indians" (pp. 38-39).

"In truth, pacification serves more the needs of the larger society for expansion than the needs of the Indians. Assistance is what would serve the actual needs of the natives. Nevertheless, in the field of assistance and protection, the Indian Protection Service has frequently failed" (p. 99).

"Missions of pacification carried out at the cost of many lives and heroic efforts to summon new tribes to peace led their executors to frustration, when they realized that their victory in the final analysis meant the defeat of their ideals, that the Indians were not even assured the possession of their land, and that peaceful coexistence for them meant hunger, disease and disillusionment" (p. 99).

"Much more than the guarantees of the law, it is lack of economic interest which assures the Indian of the possession of the niche in which he lives. The discovery of anything which can be exploited is tantamount to the crack of doom for the Indians, who are pressured to abandon their lands or be slaughtered on them. And economic discoveries do not have to be exceptional for the Indians to be plundered" (pp. 101-102).

"The sorrowful reality is that no religious mission up to the present time has made any attempt to submit to the constitution, which assures the Indians of the possession of the lands which they occupy. On the contrary, they have attempted to register in their own name not only the land on which they have settled, although it has been occupied from time immemorial by the Indians, but also lands to which they have displaced native groups" (pp. 103-104).

"After fifty years of efforts to guarantee each tribe a small area of land, there are still few states which have given the Indians legal title to the land on which they are living. And the great majority of these states have formulated the titles in so unprecise a language that it gives occasion to disputes whenever a local landowner or politician decides to make use of his political connections to seize Indian lands" (p. 106).

1970 Os Indios e a Civilização: A Integração das Populações Indígenas no Brasil Moderno. Civilização Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro.

Includes not only all the author's previous articles on the indigenous problem, but also much other valuable material compiled during almost ten years of work as an ethnologist of the former Indian Protection Service. Briefly, Ribeiro's most recent publication represents without a doubt the main source of its kind and is one of the most important books ever written on the Brazilian Indians.

> "O tema dêste livro é o estudo do processo de transfiguração étnica, tal como êle pode ser reconstituído com os dados da experiência brasileira; e a apreciação crítica dos ingentes esforços para salvar povos que não foram salvos. Como alguns dêsses povos conseguiram sobreviver às compulsões a que estiveram sujeitos - e alguns outros ainda não experimentaram o contato com a civilização - confiamos que tanto as análises como as denúncias aqui contidas ajudem a definir formas mais justas e adequadas de relações com os índios, capazes de abrir-lhes perspectivas de sobrevivência e um destino melhor" (pp. 3-4).

With respect to the "new" policy of the National Indian Foundation, this expert on the Brazilian indigenous problem expresses himself as follows: "Mais graves ainda do que as violências e os desalojamentos, podem vir a ser os efeitos das novas diretrizes econômicas e assistenciais adotadas pelo órgão oficial que substituiu o Serviço de Proteção aos Indios: a Fundação Nacional do Indio. Segundo declaração de um de seus dirigentes, o programa da Fundação é tornar-se auto-suficiente dentro de poucos anos, graças à exploração das riquezas das terras indígenas e, naturalmente, da fôrça de trabalho dos próprios índios. A que conduzirá esta nova política de espírito empresarial, num órgão que já não se inspira na ideologia indigenista de Rondon e

que também já não conta com nenhum antropólogo em seus quadros? E de se temer que os índios terão de suportar tempos ainda mais adversos" (p. 6).

English translation: "The theme of this book is the study of the process of ethnic transfiguration, such as can be reconstructed from the facts of the Brazilian experience, and a critical evaluation of the enormous efforts made to save peoples who were not saved. Since some of these peoples managed to survive the pressures to which they were subjected - and some others have not yet experienced contact with civilization - we believe that the analyses as well as the condemnations which it contains will assist in defining more equitable and adequate forms of relationship to the Indians, forms which are capable of opening up to them prospects of survival and a better fate" (pp. 3-4).

With respect to the "new" policy of the National Indian Foundation, this expert on the Brazilian indigenous problem expresses himself as follows: "The effects of the new economic and assistance policy adopted by the official agency which replaced the Indian Protection Service - the National Indian Foundation - could well turn out to be even more serious than the acts of violence and displacement. According to a statement by one of its leaders, the programme of the Foundation is to become self-sufficient within a few years, due to the exploitation of the resources of native lands and of course, the exploitation of the labour of the Indians themselves. What will this new commercial policy lead to in an agency which is no longer inspired by the natives ideology of Rondon and which also no longer has any anthropologists in its ranks? It is to be feared that the Indians will have to undergo times even more adverse" (p. 6).

RICARDO, Carlos Alberto

1972 see DORIA

SANTOS, Sílvio Coelho dos

1972 see AGOSTINHO

TURNER, Terence

1971 Brazilian Statute of the Indian. Bulletin of the American Anthropological Association, vol. 4, no. 1, Washington.

Resolution passed at the council meeting of the American Anthropological Association in November 1970 and voted by its members in April 1971. Draws the attention of world public opinion to the grave implications of the new Brazilian Statute of the Indian, which became law in November 1970, and urges the government of this country immediately to repeal the third section "Concerning Territories and Occupied Areas", which contains provisions potentially disastrous to the physical and cultural welfare of the indigenous population.

> "Following so closely upon the revelations of the atrocities and massacres of Indians perpetrated by private interests in collaboration with the old Indian Protection Service, which led to a world outcry and a major reform of the Service by the Brazilian Government, this new law provides official legal sanctions for some of the worst abuses of the old system" (p. 16).